

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 PM-04 INR-07 CIAE-00  
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O P 151205Z JAN 77  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5162  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L NICOSIA 0139

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, UN  
SUBJECT: DENKTASH LETTERS TO WALDHEIM AND MAKARIOS

REF: (A) USUN 0085, (B) ANKARA 0280, (C)76 NICOSIA 3907

1. DENKTASH LETTERS TO SYG WALDHEIM AND ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS PROPOSING LEDRA PALACE MEETING UNDER UN AUSPICES STRIKES US AS ARTFULLY WORDED, SHREWDLY TIMED, AND POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT MOVE TO SEIZE DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE, THROW MAKARIOS OFF BALANCE, AND PROJECT IMAGE OF TURKISH FLEXIBILITY AND REASONABLENESS. ON ONE HAND, IN LIGHT OF TURKEY'S INTEREST IN GETTING NEGOTIATIONS GOING, DENKTASH'S PROPOSAL MAY BE SINCERE ATTEMPT TO BREAK CURRENT PROCEDURAL DEADLOCK. IN THIS RESPECT, LACK OF THREATENING LANGUAGE, MODERATE FORMULATIONS OF EARLIER POSITIONS (FOR EXAMPLE, "TRANSITIONAL BICUMMUNAL ADMINISTRATION" RATHER THAN "INTERIM GOVERNMENT"), CONFIDENTIAL NATURE OF PROPOSAL, AND RELATIVELY MODEST AIMS OF PROPOSED MEETING (TO DISCUSS IMPASSE AND AGREE ON NEW GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATORS) APPEAR TO US POSITIVE ELEMENTS.

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2. ON OTHER HAND, WE CAN BE SURE THAT DENKTASH AND ANKARA HAVE ALSO CAREFULLY CALCULATED THE TACTICAL ADVANTAGES OF HIS PROPOSAL. THUS, PROPOSAL CAN BE SEEN--AND MAKARIOS WILL SURELY INTERPRET IT THIS WAY--AS A PLOY TO JOCKEY FOR POSITION VIS-A-VIS EC-9 AND NEW US ADMINISTRATION AND TO FORCE MAKARIOS EITHER TO ACCEPT EQUAL STATUS WITH DENKTASH OR TO EXPOSE HIMSELF

AS UNREASONABLE AND UNWILLING TO GO THE EXTRA NEGOTIATING MILE. MAKARIOS CAN THEREFORE BE EXPECTED TO REACT CAUTIOUSLY, PLAY FOR TIME (AS HE DID WITH PEREZ DE CUELLAR), AND WAIT TO SEE WHAT TACK NEW US ADMINISTRATION PLANS TO TAKE AND SHAPE OF ANTICIPATED WESTERN INITIATIVE.

3. DENKTASH'S PROPOSAL, IT SHOULD BE RECALLED, IS NOT NEW (THOUGH THE CONFIDENTIAL MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS CONVEYED IS). WHEN CLERIDES RESIGNED AS NEGOTIATOR LAST APRIL, AND BEFORE THE NOMINATION OF PAPADOPOULOS AND ONAN AS NEGOTIATORS, DENKTASH PUBLICLY EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE DIRECTLY WITH MAKARIOS OR TO HOLD UNOFFICIAL DISCUSSIONS WITH HIM (INTERVIEW IN ATHENS PAPER ELEFTHERTYPIA). MAKARIOS, SPEAKING TO GERMAN JOURNALIST (APRIL 21 DEUTSCHE WELLE), REJECTED THIS AS AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERMINE HIS PRESIDENTIAL STATUS, AND OFFERED INSTEAD TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT, SINCE DENKTASH HAS NO REAL AUTHORITY BUT MOVED AND ACTED ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM ANKARA.

4. IN MAY, MAKARIOS TOLD BBC TV THAT HE WAS ALWAYS READY TO HAVE CONTACT WITH THE LEADERS OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT COMMUNITY IF THIS WOULD SERVE ANY USEFUL PURPOSE. HOWEVER, IN SUBSEQUENT JULY 23 INTERVIEW WITH DEUTSCHE WELLE, MAKARIOS MODIFIED HIS POSITION, NOTING THAT "I DO NOT REJECT A MEETING WITH MR. DENKTASH, IF HE REALLY HAS FREEDOM OF DECISION AT THE NEGOTIATIONS." MOST RECENT PUBLIC MENTION OF POSSIBLE MAKARIOS-DENKTASH MEETING TOOK PLACE JANUARY 4. AT THAT TIME, DENKTASH, ANSWERING QUESTIONS FROM PRESS FOLLOWING CALL ON HIM BY GERMAN SPD POLITICIAN EHMKE, SAID: "WE CAN START TALKS WITH MAKARIOS, PROVIDED HE ACCEPTS TO SIT AT THE CONFERENCE TABLE WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROCEDURE  
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ADOPTED IN BRUSSELS."

5. ON BALANCE, GIVEN POOR TRACK RECORD OF SIMILAR PROPOSALS IN THE PAST, MAKARIOS' SUSPICIONS THAT TURKISH MOVE IS THINLY DISGUISED TACTICAL PLOY, AND HIS WARINESS ABOUT BEING DRAWN INTO NEGOTIATING PROCESS ON AN EQUAL FOOTING WITH DENKTASH, WE ARE SKEPTICAL THAT DENKTASH'S PROPOSAL HAS MUCH CHANCE OF LEADING TO ANYTHING, AT LEAST AT THIS POINT. NONETHELESS, ON CHANCE THAT TURKISH PROPOSAL REPRESENTS SERIOUS EFFORT TO BREAK PROCEDURAL LOGJAM, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO PROBE TURKISH INTENTIONS AND THINKING ON MATTER BEFORE REACHING ANY FINAL CONCLUSIONS.

6. DE CUELLAR (WHO IS SOMEWHAT NAIVELY ASTONISHED THAT DENKTASH LETTERS ARE NOW IN THE INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMATIC DOMAIN) VIEWS THIS AS AN IMPORTANT AND POTENTIALLY PROMISING DEVELOPMENT.

7. AS TO THE THREE IDEAS ON POSSIBLE NEXT STEPS (PARA SIX REF A) ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WHICH DE CUELLAR HAS

REPORTED TO WALDHEIM, THESE AND PERMUTATIONS ARE BEING CIRCULATED FEVERISHLY IN THE NICOSIA RUMOR FACTORY. MY DUTCH COLLEAGUE, AMBASSADOR HERMAN JORISSEN, HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY ACTIVE IN THIS REGARD (REF C), INTERACTING WITH RECENT VISITOR PROFESSOR HORST EHMKE TO PRODUCE A PAPER ON NEW PROCEDURES WHICH INCLUDES FORMS OF THE THREE STEPS CITED. WE UNDERSTAND JORISSEN MAY ALREADY HAVE GIVEN THIS TO MAKARIOS. JORISSEN IS COMING IN TO BRIEF US ON HIS IDEAS JAN 17.

8. THE FACT IS THAT NO ONE IN CYPRUS KNOWS INTENTIONS OF NEW US ADMINISTRATION TOWARD THIS PROBLEM. IN THE ABSENCE OF ANYTHING FIRM, SPECULATION IS RIFE AND OFTEN WILD. THE CURRENT INDICATIONS ARE THAT MAKARIOS WOULD WELCOME OUTSIDERS (EC-9 PLUS US) TAKING ON THE BURDEN--AND THE INEVITABLE ONUS--OF DRAWING UP THE OUTLINES OF A REALISTIC SOLUTION. HE MAY SEE THIS AS POSTPONING THE DAY WHEN HE MIGHT HAVE TO ACCOMMODATE IN THE GIVE AND TAKE OF A REAL NEGOTITION, AND CREATING A CONVENIENT NEW CONFIDENTIAL

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EXTERNAL WHIPPING BOY. (ON THE OTHER HAND, IT MAY BE THE BEST WAY TO DRAW THE PARTIES INTO SERIOUS NEGOTIATION.) CRAWFORD

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